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ABSTRACT

Three models are described within a single theoretical framework for analyzing the functions of a technical advisor and the problems he may encounter in overseas development work: (1) client systems of the technical advisor and their interrelationships, (2) areas of interference in cross-cultural communication, and (3) roles of a technical advisor. As a change agent serving in the capacity of a change therapist, the technical advisor's objectives are to introduce and establish within his client system new behavior patterns which will allow his clients tc deal more effectively with their environments. The first model identifies seven elements of the advisor's supportive system not related to the host country, and five elements directly related to the host country. The second model outlines six screens through which a message must pass between sender and receiver, affecting the clarity and understanding of the communication. The third model defines the complex role of the advisor as analyst, educator, advisor, systems linker, organizational innovator, technical innovator, and leadership trainer. (JK)

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THE

TECHNICAL ADVISOR

AS A

CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE AGENT

by

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INTRODUCTION

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THE TECHNICAL ADVISOR AS A CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE AGENT

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a theoretical framework within which to analyze the functions of a technical advisor and the problems he is likely to encounter in overseas development work. To develop such a framework, one must first consider the client systems of a technical advisor. Who are the clients with whom he will work? What are his obligations to those clients, and what are the major roles the advisor will assume in working with his clients? To answer these questions, several models have been developed. These models will be presented and discussed in the following order: (1) "A Model of the Client Systems of the Technical Advisor and Their Interrelationships," (2) "A Model Demonstrating the Areas of Interference in Cross-Cultural Communication," and (3) "A Model for the Roles of a Technical Advisor."

A basic assumption in this paper is that the technical advisor is, in effect, a change agent and when acting in this capacity serves as a change therapist. He exercises this role in relation to any segment or all of the client systems to be introduced in the model of the client systems of the technical advisor. In this role, his objectives are to introduce and establish within his client systems new and permanent behavior patterns which will allow his clients to deal more effectively with their environments. This may be accomplished by transferring to clients either improved technical equipment and technical knowledge, better or more accurate information, or improved techniques of problem identification and solution. To the extent that this premise is accepted, the goals of the technical advisor, the change agent, and the goals of the therapist are the same: to provide the client with more successful means of interacting with his environment. 1/

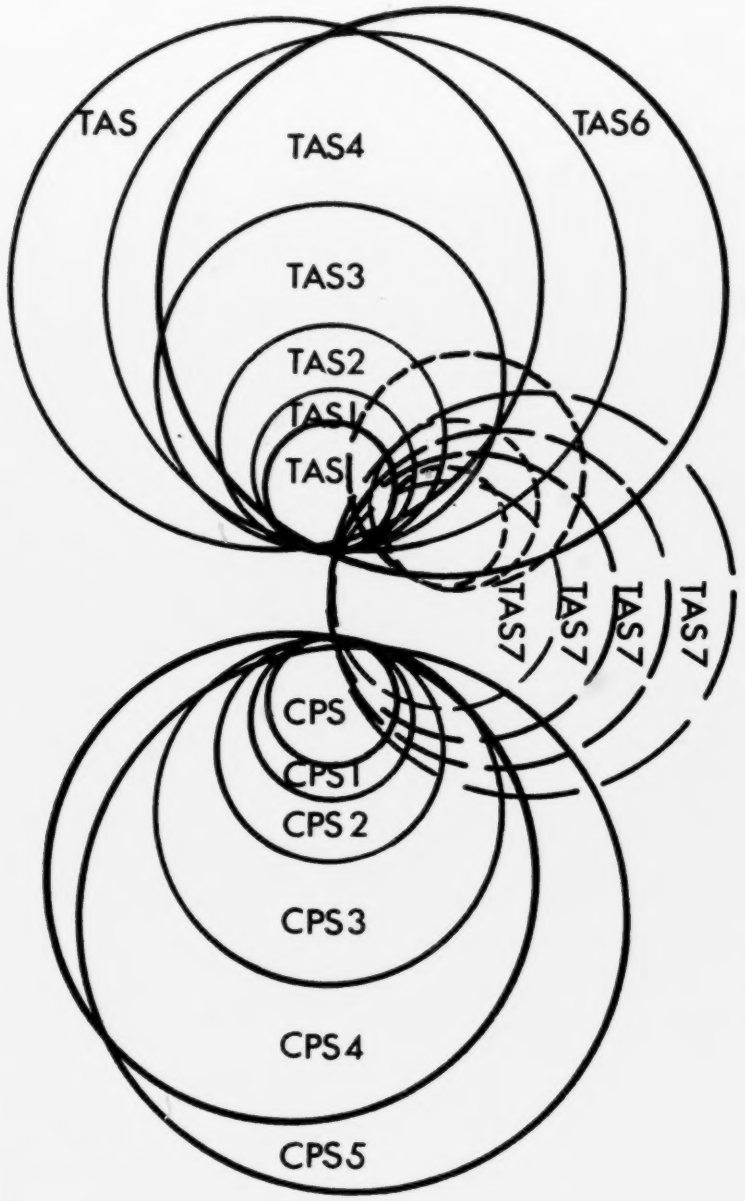
Client Systems of the Technical Advisor

The first model -- the client systems of the technical advisor and their interrelationships -- is presented in Figure 1:

Figure 1

A MODEL OF THE CLIENT SYSTEMS OF THE TECHNICAL ADVISOR AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS*

United States Operations Mission U.S. Government



Other International Assistance Organizations and Their Advisors

Host-Country Government
(Royal Government of Afghanistan)

*TAS = Technical Advisor System
CPS = Counterpart System

Key to Figure 1 model. TAS represents the technical advisor who in order to accomplish his objectives, must work with:

TAS_1 his peers or team colleagues. When several advisors are working with the same client, some differences in approach to problem identification and solution are likely to emerge and compromises must be worked out in order to present a unified front in setting priorities among development objectives and choosing the strategies for achieving them. Advisors, or an advisor, who have formulated a plan of action are responsible to and must consider their plan in light of the objectives of

TAS_2 the immediate informal organization or field team to which they are responsible and which they represent. [2] The field team is in turn responsible to

TAS_3 the Agency for International Development (AID) field mission which oversees assistance activities in a given host country. Action plans formulated by advisors and their teams must not only be considered in light of team contract obligations, which the AID field mission oversees, but also in view of the assistance objectives of this mission and its members and their responsibilities to the host country and to

TAS_4 the political objectives of the American Mission to Afghanistan, represented by the Embassy to which all the above-mentioned parts of the model are subordinate.

TAS_5 represents the home office of the advisor's field team, for example, the university which has received a contract for technical assistance services to a specific country from

TAS_6 AID/Washington, which in turn must consider its activities in light of the political objectives and sanctions of the State Department under whose embassies the activities of the AID field missions are coordinated.

TAS_7 represents other international assistance organizations and their advisors. This group, because it also has a stake in technical assistance to the host country, can either hinder or help the technical advisor, depending upon the rapport which is established.

As Fairchild and Wann point out, a major source of interference to advisor/host-country counterpart relationships is the competition which arises among the technical advisors from different countries. This competition is somewhat analogous to that which a technical advisor may encounter from other advisors on his own team or from those representing other agencies under the American Mission when responsibilities overlap and fundamental approaches to assistance problems differ.[3/]

CPS represents the host-country counterpart of the technical advisor. Clients in the CPS system are ostensibly the main clients of the technical advisor; though, as pointed out above, in order to accomplish his development goals in working with clients from this system, the advisor may have to divert his attention to interference or resistance emanating from sources in the client systems identified earlier.

CPS_1 represents the counterpart's peers or colleagues in the host-country client system; these peers or colleagues may be the counterparts of members of TAS_1.

CPS_2 represents the immediate formal organization of the counterpart, that is, the counterpart's equivalent of TAS_2.

CPS_3 represents the counterpart's intermediate formal organizations. In a university situation, for example, if CPS_2 were a department of education or a faculty of education, CPS_3 would be the next organizational level.

CPS_4 represents that part of the host-country government to which the counterpart is responsible, for example, the Ministry of Education or one of its departments or bureaus.

CPS_5 represents the host country and its government, for example, the Royal Government of Afghanistan.

Two additional points should be made in relation to this model: (1) The technical advisor may be required to work with one or several clients identified in the model to bring about a given innovation, and (2) as he is an innovator and performs innovative functions with his counterpart, so are those working at the various levels of the TAS system innovators performing innovative functions in relation to CPS institutions and organizations at their respective levels. Thus as TAS performs innovative functions with CPS, so may TAS_2 act as a change-agent

organization in performing innovative functions in relation to CPS_2. As TAS may perform innovative functions in relation to CPS_{1-2-3} and TAS_{2-3-4}, so may TAS_2 perform innovative functions and assume innovative roles in relation to CPS and CPS_{1-5} and in relation to TAS through TAS_6. However, as will be pointed out later, when working with the formal system in which one is employed and responsible to superiors--TAS through TAS_6, for example--the roles and styles of behavior available to one become progressively limited as one moves up the scale. TAS, for example, is more limited in the innovative roles he may assume in working with the TAS hierarchy above him than he is in the innovative roles he may assume in working with levels in the CPS hierarchy.

Each circle or matrix in the diagram should be seen as a separate entity, having its own level of operation but integrated into the total system as shown. The model of the client systems presented in this diagram is a multidimensional one, which focuses on the technical advisor and his counterpart and expands to include elements of the formal systems of each. Matrices on the TAS side are to be seen both as client systems of the technical advisor and as part of the change-agent structure which may either be imitated or structurally and behaviorally adapted and assimilated into the counterpart system as needs and cultural characteristics permit.

Areas of Interference in Cross-Cultural Communication

Several additional observations need to accompany the application of the above-mentioned technical assistance model to a developing country:

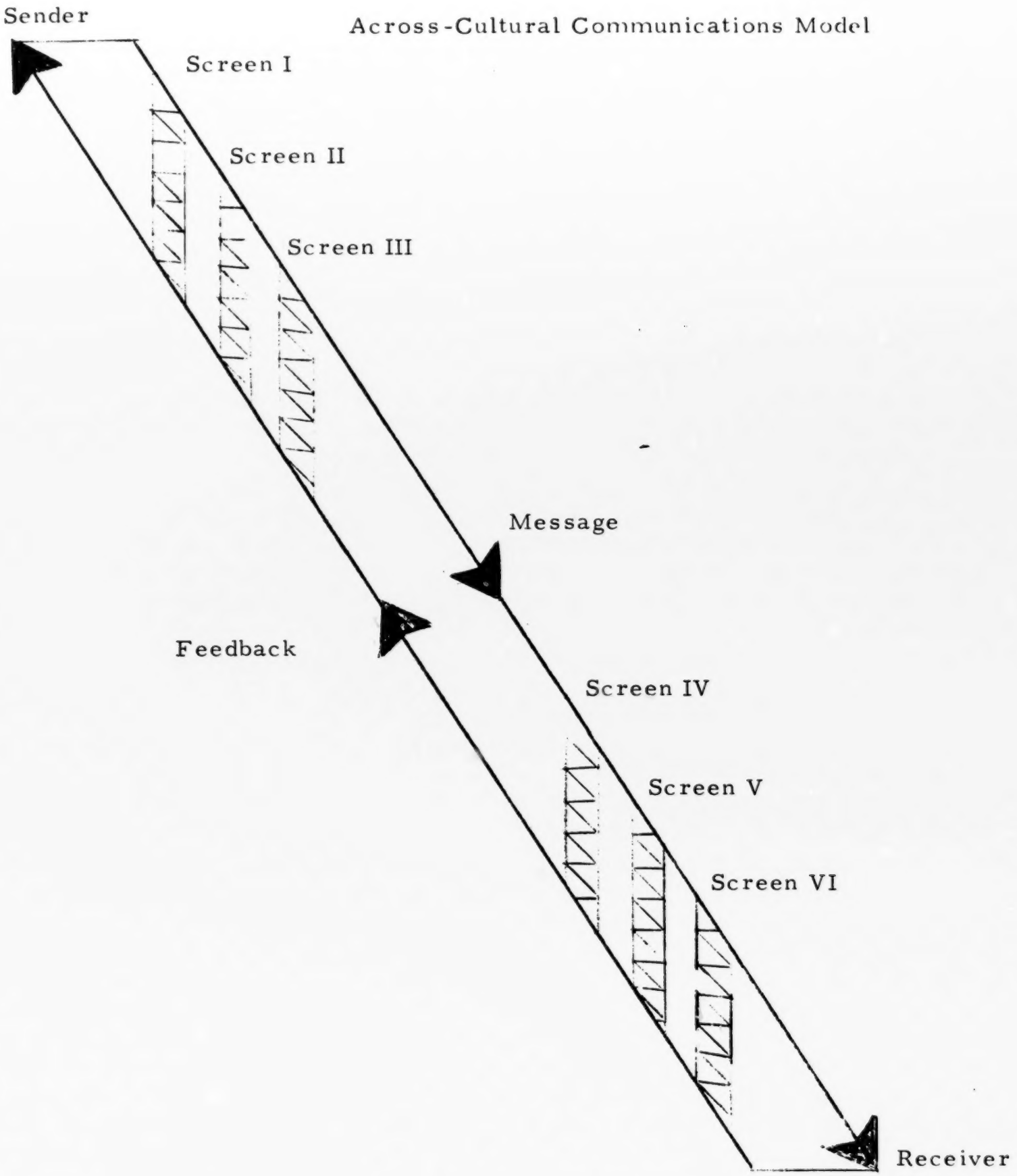
1. Technical assistance is understood to mean the transmission of knowledge through training and the transfer of material resources to a developing country to enable it to satisfy needs more effectively.[4/]

2. The technical advisor should understand that his ability to transmit knowledge is limited by the necessity of communicating it through a filter of his language, education, and cultural values that condition him to certain ways of perceiving, thinking, and knowing. The transmission is further complicated by the fact that communication is sent through a medium outside the advisor, a medium which has its own inherent potential for distorting his message, to a host-country receiver who must filter messages received through his cultural filter, which has in turn conditioned him to certain ways of perceiving, thinking, and knowing.[5/]

3. The communications model in Figure 2 may help to clarify some of the problems inherent in cross-cultural communication:

Figure 2.

Across-Cultural Communications Model



This model consists of a sender, who transmits a message through several screens, and a receiver. Each screen affects the structure of the message and, consequently, its reception by the receiver. Each screen can be said to represent a form of interference which can potentially contaminate the "purity" of the message.

Screer I represents both potential interference from the sender's own physio-psychological syndrome of feeling, attitudes, and such and the manner in which that syndrome causes him to structure and transmit his message.

Screen II represents potential interference from a series of possible cultural influences ranging from the sender's immediate cultural area to the larger Western cultural region which he represents.

Screen III represents potential interference from the medium through which the sender chooses to transmit his message--for example, a memo, a handwritten note, a telephone call, a personal visit, a painting, or a nonverbal cue.[6/]

Screen IV represents potential interference from the nature of the message itself; for example, a slap on the face as opposed to a slap on the back, in both cases the medium is the same, that is, hand contact, but the nature of the message will be interpreted in a fairly predictable manner by an observer familiar with Western custom, the slap on the face representing a repulse and the slap on the back signifying acceptance.

Screen V is a counterpart to Screen II, representing potential interference from the receiver's cultural syndrome.

Screen VI is a counterpart of Screen I and represents potential interference from the receiver's own physio-psychological syndrome.

The dotted line from the receiver to the sender represents feedback, one test of the accuracy of the original communication and reception process. The irony of this testing or clarifying procedure is, of course, that the same screens operate in reverse; thus, there are infinite possibilities for distortion of the message depending on the number of senders and receivers involved and on the number of times the message is transmitted and fed back. The party game, "Chain Message," is a popular example of the entertaining aspects of the potential for distortion in the oral communication of a single phrase or sentence. An additional observation which should be made here is that this communications model is applicable not only in communication

between a technical advisor and members of the host country in which he works but also in communication with clients from his own culture and from the formal system within which he is employed.

As Spicer points out in the introduction to Human Problems in Technological Change, the change agent whether he is working in a domestic or foreign environment is working across barriers of language, belief, and custom stemming from the differences in the cultural backgrounds of his clients.[7] Much resistance to changes the advisor seeks to bring about in the counterpart system may arise from the communication blocks among or within the various client levels of his own system.

4. These assumptions accepted, it follows that the technical knowledge introduced by the advisor results from the particular kinds of problem-solving processes and conceptualizations in his culture. These cultural processes may be alien to that culture into which they are to be introduced.

5. To introduce Western technology and the processes which accompany it, it may be necessary to change patterns or parts of the structure of the client culture by teaching counterparts within that culture new behavioral processes and patterns. These processes and patterns are corollary to the technology the client culture receives and may result in basic attitude changes within the client system.[8]

6. The advisor's effectiveness will be limited by the behavioral roles he can assume related to (a) the development stage of the host-country project in which he is working and (b) his status position in relation to the "clients" with whom he must deal in rendering technical assistance.

a. One more or less consistent pattern under which U.S. technical assistance projects have developed is the following. Though the appropriateness of such a pattern is open to question, it will be described rather than analyzed here, inasmuch as the focus of this paper is upon the technical advisor rather than upon the development of technical assistance projects.

There are three more or less identifiable phases or stages in the development of an assistance project. These phases might be called the model, peer, and consultant stages. In a typical assistance project, these labels identify the stages in which a U.S. development model is imposed upon a non-U.S. culture. Assistance has tended to be directive, with the U.S.

advisor actively engaged in transplanting a U.S. institutional model and training local personnel so that they are capable of maintaining the institution or project independently, at which point U.S. assistance is phased out.[9/]

While such a method is useful within a single culture or closely related cultures, its long-term impact is open to question in projects where substantially different cultures such as Western and Eastern are intimately involved and where cultural differences have not been sufficiently explored and some attempt at reconciliation made.

In the following discussion of these three development stages, suggestions are made as to considerations which the advisor must explore if he is to function successfully as a cross-cultural change agent.

Model stage. In this stage the counterpart has no operational structure or technical skills for the advisor to modify or develop. A typical solution to such a problem is for the advisor to perform a majority of the innovative work for his client, to serve as a demonstration model from which the counterpart can imitate and learn. The temptation to assume an overly directive status in relation to the counterpart, based upon superior technical knowledge, must be tempered by the realization that the advisor is not the counterpart's superior in terms of his knowledge of the counterpart's culture. The cooperative aspect of all training in the stages to be described should be emphasized. The advisor should be gaining knowledge from the counterpart about his culture at the same time that he is imparting technical knowledge to the counterpart.

How, for example, can the advisor be certain that the methods he uses to teach technical skills are acceptable to the counterpart's culture? Is the behavior which he expects of his students in learning and teaching technical skills acceptable within the host culture? In a project to train agricultural extension agents, for example, can an advisor expect to train upper social level students to work with their hands and expect them to train others in the same manner if social attitudes within the culture do not permit members of this level to work with their hands? Examples of such problems are not difficult to find in agricultural development projects in Afghanistan, Nepal, and India.

One of the advisor's problems as a cross-cultural change agent is that while his counterpart ought to serve as a cultural model from whom the advisor is to learn, the advisor must concentrate primarily on serving as a model for technical skills to his client, attempting to separate the cultural implications of such a role and avoiding the imposition of his culture along with his technology upon the client. The paradoxical nature of such a situation may well account for the failure of some assistance projects overseas. An important question to be examined is whether the technology of a culture can be assimilated without also assimilating other attitidues and patterns of behavior which may be corollary to the development and implementation of that technology. If, as this writer feels, the answer is, "no," then the technical advisor's problem is one of timing. How can, or can, he proceed at a pace which will satisfy the time requirements of his project yet not alienate members of the client culture through a too rapid imposition of alien attitudes and behavior? 10/ The key problem for the advisor in this first stage is to find the culturally "right" way to bring the client to the point where he possesses the skills and has internalized the necessary processes to function independently and effectively in satisfying development needs within the framework of his own culture.

Peer stage. In this stage the technical skills of the counterpart are developed to the point at which the advisor can work as a professional equal. If training in the model stage has progressed properly, little difficulty should be experienced in moving into this "peer" relationship. The counterpart must now concentrate on developing leadership and educational skills so that he may serve as a technical leader in the education of his countrymen.

A semantic example of the movement from stage one to stage two may be drawn from the writer's experience in an AID project in Afghanistan, where movement between the model and peer stages was evidenced in the development of the terminology used to refer to Afghan counterparts of U.S. advisors in the Faculty of Education at Kabul University. As King points out, "counterpart" is the term used for a person who works with a U.S. advisor in a translator-advisee relationship until such time as he is judged competent for study in the United States; the counterpart then becomes a participant until his training is completed and he returns to Afghanistan for assignment to a career position agreed upon by AID and the Afghan Government prior to his being sent abroad. King says further that once he has completed his

training, the Afghan is never again referred to as a "counterpart," even if his relation with the same U.S. specialist continues upon his return. The proper term to be used upon his return is "colleague."[11] This latter term was adopted in 1967 upon the request of returning participants who resented what they saw as a downgrading connotation in the term "counterpart," which inadvertently had continued in use upon the participant's return.

One might speculate as to the causes for the feelings of inadequacy expressed on the part of the Afghans through their focus on the use of this referent upon their return from participant training in the United States. Perhaps, for example, their U.S. advisors failed to emphasize properly the importance of their counterpart roles as interpreters of Afghan culture and the advisor roles as trainees in this respect. Perhaps, too, the flaws in the referent system lie in an inadequate understanding of the psychological differences relating to the concept of status between the two cultures.

The important point here is that the Afghans wanted a change in status commensurate with their development as professional people and expressed that desire through the request for a change in the terminology used to refer to them. Thus, stage two in the Afghan project came to be identified in the genesis of the term "colleague."[12]

Consultant stage. By this stage the counterpart ought to have developed fully the skills in which he was to be trained and to have internalized the problem-identifying and problem-solving processes of the technical advisor. The counterpart is thus prepared for a terminal relationship with his technical advisor. (It should again be noted that a technical advisor will have less difficulty in bringing the counterpart client to this stage if he has avoided allowing himself to be frozen into an advocate or directive image by his counterpart. The technical advisor should move out of such a potentially inhibiting role as soon as he is able in order to avoid building a dependent attitude into his client.)

It should also be noted that the rate of progress in the change relationship will be determined by the technical advisor's analysis of the client's willingness to change and his resources and capacity for change. The rate of change should also be controlled by the advisor's analysis of his own motives, resources, and capacity for bringing about the change.[13]

b. The technical advisor will generally occupy one of three status positions in dealing with the client systems shown in the model. He may have a status superior in knowledge and position to his client. He may have a peer status similar to that of his client. Or, he may have a subordinate status in relation to his client. (An example of the latter would be when the advisor would have to deal with his Chief of Party or an official from the AID Mission.) The advisor who is fortunate enough to occupy a status position superior to a client at any given point in their relationship would obviously have more control over the interaction which might occur and also have a wider choice of roles and behavior. Thus the tactics of the advisor and the dynamics of each situation will vary according to the status position of the advisor in relation to that of the client. Of course, the connotations as well as the dynamics of a situation circumscribed by the term "superior" will vary in terms of the client system within which the advisor is working, i.e., TAS_{1-6}, TAS_7, and CPS_{1-5}.

The higher the developmental stage and the less directive (or authoritative) the relationship in which the technical advisor can function in relation to his counterpart client, the better are the chances for bringing about a permanent change. The technical advisor who can bring his project up to level three and function as a consultant or linker of knowledge systems for his client has a better chance of leaving stabilized change than the advisor who is able to work up to only levels one and two.[14] A criterion for success might be whether or not the counterpart were able to transfer his newly acquired skills and knowledge to neighboring systems for demonstration and adaptation.

Technical Advisor's Roles

What roles does the technical advisor assume during the process of bringing about change in the client systems identified? Change literature in the social sciences provides much information as to the nature of the change process and the variables which affect it. Indeed, the presentation of change models has become almost passé. Less study has been undertaken with regard to examining the part played by the change agent in the change process in terms of examining the role of the technical advisor in overseas change. The importance of such knowledge ought not to be ignored, the technical advisor being a key variable in the success of overseas change. The courses of action and techniques chosen by him to initiate and bring about change decisively affect the success or failure of projects in which he is engaged. Although the environments of change and

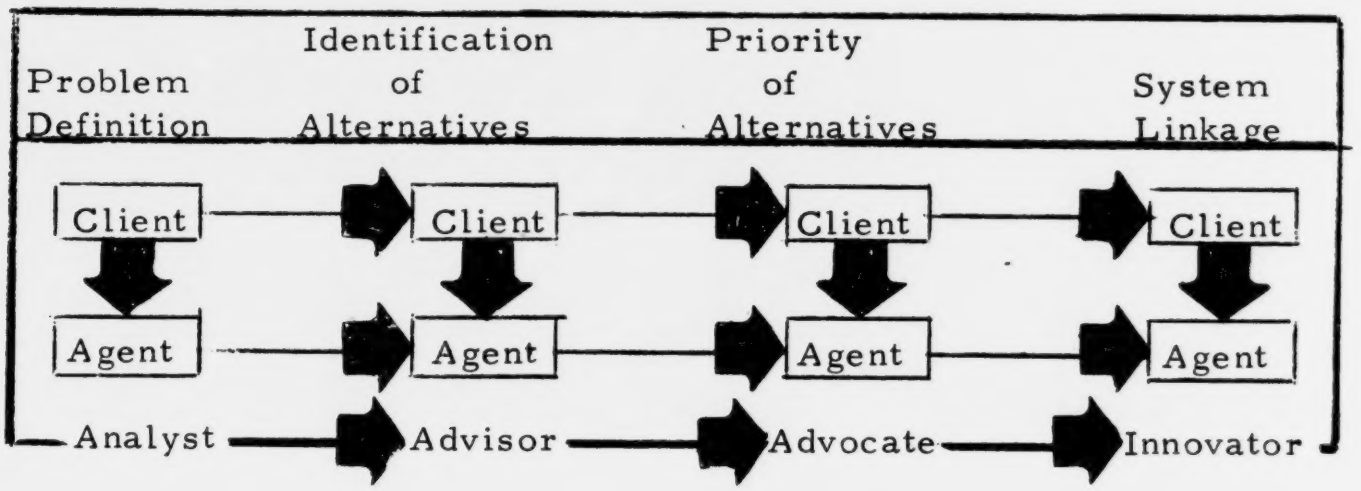
the kinds and degrees of change differ and every technical advisor who acts as a change agent must adapt himself and his techniques accordingly, the processes of change and the roles open to a change agent in bringing about change may not differ significantly.

The behavioral model for the technical advisor presented here and the discussion of activities accompanying the model have been adapted from two principal sources: (1) change agent models for the extension agent and the Peace Corps Volunteer developed in the Center for Developmental Change at the University of Kentucky, principally by Dr. Arthur Gallaher and Dr. Frank Santopolo, and (2) a discussion of common elements in the change process and activities of the change agent presented by Ronald Lippitt, et al., in The Dynamics of Planned Change. 15/

1. Change-Agent Models. The model developed by Gallaher and Santopolo provides a framework within which an extension agent may function as a change agent to fulfill more effectively his obligations to the client system. The extension agent relates to his client system through four major roles--analyst, advisor, advocator, and innovator; these roles may be assumed either singly or in combination and are assumed as the extension agent acts in the capacity of a representative from a knowledge center whose obligation it is to provide clients with technical information, technical equipment and improved techniques of problem identification and solution. To the extent that the extension agent functions to improve client behavior in interaction with the environment or other clients within the client system, the extension agent can be said to have goals similar to those of the overseas technical advisor and the therapist; indeed, it may be suggested that the extension agent is a field therapist.

In a given problem situation the extension agent will move through the roles presented in Figure 3 when relating to his client: 16/

Figure 3
CLIENT-AGENT ROLE RELATIONS



Within the framework of the model, the extension agent progresses with his client through a relationship in which the agent assumes first (and continually throughout) the role of analyst.

ANALYST: In this role, the agent surveys the client's situation, identifying problems within the client system and, bringing to the client an awareness of them.

This role is operationally one of the most important to the agent-client relationship in that it is only through continual analysis that the agent can maintain an accurate assessment of the dynamics of the change process and choose the correct role through which to relate to the client. It should be emphasized that the client system is a dynamic one, and, consequently, the relationship between the agent and his client should also be a dynamic one. The analyst role is thus one which will be assumed throughout the change process and will provide the extension agent with the awareness and information necessary to choose the proper role at the proper moment in order to move the relationship to a successful conclusion.

ADVISOR: This role is assumed when the extension agent's main obligation to his client is to provide alternative solutions for a given problem.

Gallaher and Santopolo make an important distinction between advising and advocating in commenting upon a pitfall which must be avoided in the assumption of this role:

> **To advise is to present alternatives to the client but to leave the decision making process mainly to him; to advocate is to recommend one from among a number of alternatives, to tell a client what should be done and thereby become more intimately involved in formulating decisions for him....*The client provides the cue as to whether advice or advocacy is expected.* [Italics mine.]** 17/

The authors make the additional point that the agent must consider not only the client to whom he directs his advice but also the impact which his style of communication may have on the rest of the system: "Different styles are required to communicate with individuals, groups, and audiences." 18/ An extension of this point is especially important in reference to the technical advisor's communication with the various levels of clients in the system presented earlier. It should be noted again that not only will different styles be required in communicating with different levels of the TAS system, but also that the style will be determined by the dynamics of the communicating situation and the behavioral

limits on the role the advisor may assume in communicating with clients at each level. For a rather simple illustration, one may order a secretary to type a report, one may not order the Chief of Mission to accept the report.

ADVOCATOR: This role is assumed if the main responsibility of the extension agent is to recommend a specific alternative from a range of possible alternatives.

Two points should be made here: (1) Success in the advocate role is directly related to the accuracy of the analysis which precedes the selection of the alternative to be advocated, and (2) the agent must fully understand the range of alternatives from the perspective of the client's framework of values. He is then in a better position to select and recommend the proper alternative solution to the client's problem. Choosing the wrong alternative or failing to appreciate the alternative from the point of view of the client's value system will likely result in failure and may have disruptive consequences within the client system. 19/ As Gallaher points out, the best strategy for the agent is to guide the client through a self-analysis of problems and alternatives. The client thus shares in the process of identifying and selecting alternatives and is both able to integrate these processes into his own behavioral patterns and more willingly accept and implement the agreed-upon alternatives. 20/

INNOVATOR: This role is assumed when the agent's main responsibility to the client is to create an innovation to satisfy a specific need.

A pitfall inherent in this role is that the agent in producing innovations for the client system may find himself frozen into the range of an advocate to the extent that he functions as the medium through which knowledge and technical innovations are passed on to the client. Such "freezing" of the agent's image limits the client's potential to develop and inhibits the movement toward a terminal point in the agent-client relationship. 21/ One area of the innovative role which the agent may concentrate on to avoid "freezing" his image is the area of systems linkage. As a systems linker, the agent brings the client into contact with either the agent's knowledge center or other knowledge centers in the client system which may be of use to him in solving his problems. The knowledge center to which the client may be linked may be another individual, an agency, or an organization.

Systems linkage may also be seen as a sub-role assumed by the agent in an information transfer process whereby the agent may bring the client to an awareness of problem-solving possibilities within his own environment while avoiding the risk of strengthening client dependency upon the agent. The latter is made possible through the transfer of the

roles of advisor and advocator to the knowledge center with which the client is linked. Aside from the fact that the client is less likely to establish a behavioral set which causes him to perceive the agent as an advocate, this role increases the potential for a peer relationship between the agent and client in that he may return from the knowledge center with information for mutual discussion between the agent and himself. A discussion brought about in this manner allows both the agent and his client to assume the roles of analyst, advisor, and advocate in relation to the information derived from the client's interaction with the knowledge center. The client thus receives both needed information and practice in building into his behavioral patterns the processes used by the agent. As the client incorporates these processes into his behavioral patterns and uses them with peers in his client group, he prepares himself to terminate his relationship with the agent. A terminal point may be acknowledged when the agent can successfully withdraw, leaving the client with increased knowledge and improved patterns of problem identification and solution:

> **If the agent relates to a client in the ways [roles] suggested, that in itself should constitute a significant and unique learning experience for the client. Further, if the agent is sensitive to this fact, he can exploit it to both his own and the client's advantage. Thus, as he engages in analysis, he can (where relevant) involve the client in such ways that he comes to appreciate the process necessary to define problems, derive alternatives, and make decisions about solutions to problems. In this way, the agent transfers role patterns to the client, who in turn becomes more analytical and can function as an advisor and advocator, perhaps even an innovator, as he relates to others in the client group.** [22]

To adapt the extension agent model to overseas purposes, the model developed by Gallaher and Santopolo was modified somewhat and several roles were added. The modifications were necessary for the adaptation of the model for use in a Peace Corps training program. The rationale for the modification is explained in a mimeographed paper entitled, "The PCV as Resident Technical-Participant."

As explained in this paper, the Peace Corps Volunteer has two basic responsibilities: (1) to provide technical competence in overseas development and (2) to promote understanding among peoples of the world. As the paper suggests, the average Peace Corps Volunteer, because of his youth and lack of adequate professional experience and training, cannot be expected to provide high-level professional expertise for use in overseas development work. The provision of such expertise

must remain within the domain of the professional technical advisor, who has the necessary professional specialization, experience, and resources to provide such assistance. The primary contribution of the volunteer must be to function as an educator whose specialization is a knowledge of the process for effectively involving the local people in self-directed development programs. His responsibility is to become familiar with and promote an understanding of the techniques for organizing people and involving them in problem-identifying and solving processes which will enable them to improve their local existence. 23/

To accomplish this task, the volunteer must live within the culture as a resident technical-participant. This role has two basic functions which anticipate a period of reciprocal adjustment and the development of rapport between the volunteer and the local community. Once the volunteer has adjusted and developed rapport with his client community, he may begin to work as a technical-participant in community development through the assumption of the following roles:

ANALYST: interpreting a situation in the context of the community environment to arrive at an understanding of needs, judge priority among them and assess the availability of resources within one's self and within the community for contributing to need satisfaction.

ADVISOR: advising the community regarding alternatives potentially applicable to the given situation.

ADVOCATE: recommending one or several alternatives in rank order from a number of possible alternatives.

SYSTEMS LINKER: helping people to understand basic techniques for coming together for common purposes; ways in which communities and societies are organized for social and technical service; ways of getting persons and groups to take part in self-development activities for efficient social action toward common goals.

INNOVATOR: (organization innovator) applying an operational expertise in a technical subject matter area, facilitating the initiation of a new program, system, or institution in response to the expressed needs of the people and reinforced by the volunteer's analysis.

INNOVATOR: (technical innovator) applying a high level of technical skill in a specialized field, facilitating the initiation of a new technique or methodology in response to expressed needs of the people and reinforced by the volunteer's analysis. [24]

Thus, to the change-agent model suggested for the extension agent by Gallaher and Santopolo (analyst, advisor, advocate, and innovator), two roles have been added: resident technical-participant and systems linker. The role of innovator has been divided into two separate roles, those of organizational innovator and technical innovator, and two additional responsibilities have been suggested: educator and cross-cultural ambassador.

To complete the model for the technical advisor to be presented here, two roles must be added to those mentioned in the models presented thus far, the roles of leadership trainer and cross-cultural ambassador. Suggested in the models presented earlier, these two roles are especially important in overseas technical assistance inasmuch as the technical advisor is generally a professional person on a temporary contract with an overseas assistance group and will eventually either be transferred to another assignment or be returned to the United States at the completion of his tour of service or upon the termination of contract assistance to the host country. The impermanent nature of technical assistance necessitates the development of leadership skills in local personnel who will continue the work initiated through technical assistance. Fairchild and Wann emphasize the need for recognition of such a role for the technical advisor:

> ....As we worked at all levels of the school system one of our primary purposes was to demonstrate ways in which the leaders would in turn work with others in a more effective manner.
>
> It is obvious that we believe that personnel development is one of the most important aspects of intercultural consultant services. We feel that in addition to developing the skills of teachers and other educational workers it becomes very important to build their status as professional workers who see themselves as capable of carrying forward and who will be accepted as leaders.... The important lesson here, we believe, is that the consultants must make an effort to build the status of local teachers and leaders. Foreign consultants who are accepted by the people of a country occupy a unique position which enables them to contribute to effective leadership after they have departed from the country by building that leadership before they leave. [25]

The role of the technical advisor as a cross-cultural ambassador must not be ignored. Too many technical advisors fail to consider that they are (1) informal representatives of their own country and culture and (2) in the case of government-employed technical assistance advisors, formal representatives of the government agency which is responsible for their presence in the host country. As suggested by Cleveland, Mangone, and Adams in The Overseas Americans, technical advisors tend to neglect the political implications of their work both for the host country and for their own country:

> **The military-aid program is an example: the generals and colonels in charge of most military-assistance advisory groups abroad, many of them able soldiers with excellent records as combat leaders and peacetime administrators, usually believe their function to be limited to the training of troops in the use of modern weapons and advising on military organization and tactics. Yet in a dozen countries or more the foreign military officers we have trained are almost bound to have a powerful (or as we have recently seen in the Middle East, a controlling) voice in determining the political composition of their own civilian government, its foreign-policy posture, and the direction of its economic-development programs.**
>
> **Similarly, United States technical and economic aid has very important impacts on the domestic politics of several dozen nations. In this progress-conscious era, a Minister of Health may ride to the premiership not on a white horse, but on a malaria-eradication program or a network of carefully placed rural health clinics. Yet if you ask civilian technicians or economic-aid officials to describe the central purpose of their mission, they will most often formulate it either in vague clichés about soliciting friendship or in the narrow language of the official's specialty.**
>
> **....The many overseas programs the United States sponsors--information and intelligence agencies, military and economic aid, international and private philanthropy, business and educational contacts by the thousands--give our government an unmatched opportunity to bring the United States into close and friendly touch with the coming leadership of all but a dozen nations in the world. But while the government does many admirable things around the globe, it has yet to relate them effectively to each other and to the central purposes of American foreign policy.** [26]

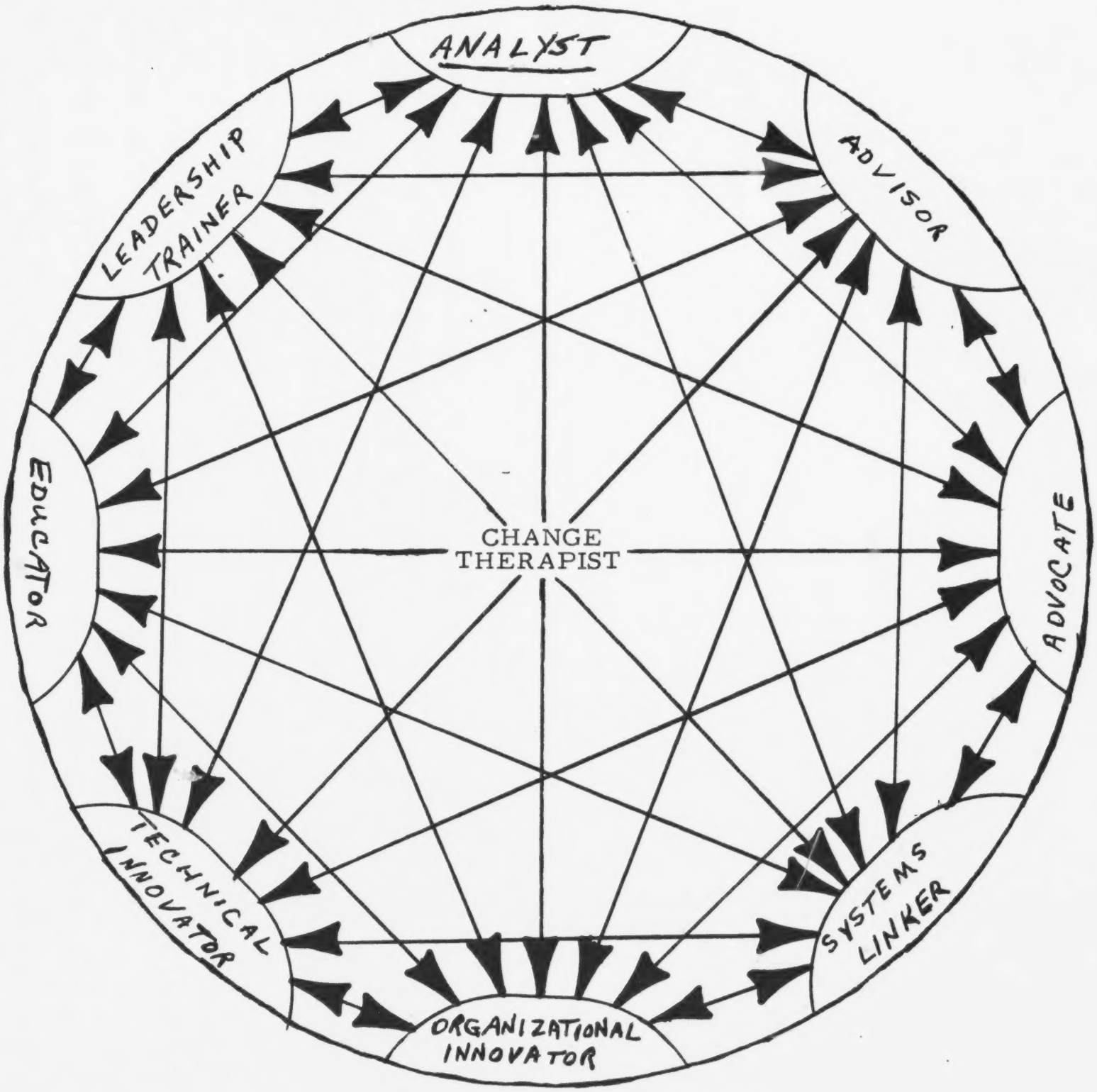
The failure of the technical advisor to recognize both the political implications of his job and the limitations of his position as an advisor within a system which is basically directed by the exigencies of domestic politics can cause him a certain amount of role strain in accomplishing tasks involved in his overseas assignment. This fact is especially true in situations where a technical advisor is employed by a USAID/university contract team. Here the advisor may find his loyalty divided between service to the contract team, which directly employs him, and service to AID, which employs the contract team, in cases where a disagreement or conflict of interest develops between the two. A comment made by an AID official to a contract-team advisor after a disagreement may illustrate this point. Emerging from a somewhat heated discussion, the official commented to the advisor: "Just remember you work for AID not the . . . team."

To summarize then, the technical advisor is a technical expert who functions as a change agent or change therapist. His objective is to introduce and establish in clients, within his client systems, behavior patterns which will permit host-country clients to function more effectively in their environments. This is accomplished by transferring to clients either improved technical equipment and technical knowledge, better or more accurate insights and information, or improved techniques of problem identification and solution. As suggested in the model of the two client systems of the technical advisor, the technical advisor may find that in order to carry out his mission, he may have to direct his attention to solving problems in the counterpart system of the host country, to solving problems in areas of the system which employs him, and also to solving problems of interaction with other international assistance advisors and their organizations. To accomplish a given task he may have to use his skills not only upon individual groups and organizations of the counterpart system but also upon his own colleagues and their employers.

The technical advisor may assume the following roles in accomplishing his goals: analyst, advisor, advocate, systems linker, organizational innovator, technical innovator, educator, and leadership trainer. For any given problem these roles may be assumed in the sequence given or as the situation and client relationship dictate. The roles are assumed by the technical advisor in his capacity as a resident technical participant in a developing country and in his capacity as a cross-cultural ambassador, serving as he does to represent informally his culture and country and to represent formally the agency or agencies which employ his services for technical assistance. The model in Figure 4 will illustrate the concept of the technical advisor presented here:

Figure 4

A MODEL FOR THE ROLES OF THE TECHNICAL ADVISOR



The core concept of change-therapist and the governing concepts of resident technical-participant and cross-cultural ambassador are given primacy because the technical advisor must live in and understand the values of the culture within which he works. He must also understand his position in relation to his client systems. Continual analysis and evaluation of his position in relation to both client systems will enable him to direct his attention to the proper client; to assess the needs, motives, and capacity of that client for change; to assess his own capacity, motives, and resources for bringing about change; and to assume the correct role and use appropriate methods and techniques in that role to bring about change at any given stage in the advisor-client relationship. (The arrows connecting the roles are used to stress the dynamic relationships among them. The analyst role is underlined because this role enables the advisor to determine the proper sequence of roles to assume during the change relationship.)

2. Activities of and Problems Encountered by the Change Agent. What are the stages in the change process? What are the resistances and problems the change agent is likely to encounter in the change process? In his discussion of the dimensi ons of the consultant's job, Ronald Lippitt poses seven questions which focus on basic professional problems to which a consultant must address himself. The approach to these questions requires the use of information-gathering techniques; the use of descriptive, analytic, and diagnostic theories to direct the approach to the client relationship and the focus on kinds of problems likely to be discovered in the client system; an acquaintance with types of action techniques for treating problems encountered; and, finally, the use of feedback techniques to determine the results of action taken. 27/ Some problems likely to be encountered are: (1) an inappropriate distribution of power, too diffuse or two centralized; (2) a blockage and immobilization of productive energy; (3) a lack of communication between the subparts of the system; (4) a lack of correspondence between external reality and the situation as perceived by the client; (5) a lack of clarity in focusing on the problem or commitment to goals for action; and (6) a lack of decision-making and action-taking skills. A focus in one of these areas will direct the consultant's inquiry to answering the first question:

a. What seems to be the difficulty? Where does it come from? What is maintaining it?

The questions which follow are somewhat redundant to material covered thus far but are important enough to be repeated:

b. What are my motives as a consultant for becoming involved in this helping relationship? What are the bases of my desire to promote change?

The degree of honesty in self-analysis will determine how well the overseas advisor recovers from the problem of culture shock and the extent to which he is willing to leave life in the overseas American enclaves into which so many Americans retreat and explore local life in the culture with which he will work. It will also determine the extent to which the advisor succumbs to an additional pitfall, that of carving out an eight-hour-a-day niche for himself and leaving basic research to more persistent scholars. 28/

c. What seem to be the present or potential motivations of the client toward change and against change?

In terms of U.S. aid, the somewhat cynical question might be asked: Has your help been requested because of the money contributed to the economy? As one AID employee informally commented, "It's quite possible that as much as 30 percent of our money goes into somebody's pocket; the rest, hopefully, gets something done." Lloyd Black, taking a more moderate view in commenting upon waste in foreign aid programs, suggests that, although there is undoubtedly some basis in fact for such allegations, the majority are usually magnified and distorted. 29/ The uses to which an advisor and his resources are put often serve as the most accurate indication of the client's motives in requesting his presence.

d. What are my resources as a consultant for giving the kind of help that seems to be needed now or that may develop?

An example from the Teachers College, Columbia Team technicians' experiences may indicate the relevance of this question for the technical advisor. Upon their arrival in the host country, several Columbia Team advisors discovered that they had been employed and sent overseas to fill positions and obligations which either did not exist in the host-country activities of the Columbia Team or were impossible to fill. Aside from serving as an example of problems three and four mentioned by Lippitt (that is, a lack of communication between team activities in the host country and contract planning in Washington), such situations required special capacities for adaptation on the part of the technical advisors. If the advisors were employed for non-positions, they had to re-evaluate their own resources and find the capacity in which they could best serve out their two-year contracts. 30/

e. What preliminary steps of action are needed to explore and establish a consulting relationship?

The comments made to question (d) on the Columbia experience are especially relevant to this question. The mere fact of employment and presence in a developing country is no guarantee that host-country clients will embrace the advisor with open arms. He must still identify his clients and their problems, establish communication and develop the rapport which will enable him to create a working relationship. Even in those countries where host-clients are sophisticated and articulate enough to be aware of their problems and to discuss them in the appropriate "professional jargon," cultural attitudes may exist which inhibit the open discussion of problems with a stranger. Clients often wish the consultant to see what they do well, rather than what they do poorly.

f. How do I as a consultant guide and adapt to the different phases of the process of changing?

Beginning with Lewin's three-phase analysis of the change process, which consists of unfreezing faulty attitudes, perceptions and behaviors and building in new and more appropriate ones and refreezing them, the seven stages of the change process mentioned by Lippitt are:

(1) Development of a need for change
(2) Establishment of a consulting relationship
(3) Clarification of the client problem
(4) Examination of alternative solutions and goals
(5) Transformation of intentions into actual change efforts
(6) Generalization and stabilization of a new level of functioning or group structure
(7) Achievement of a terminal relationship with the consultant and a continuity of changeability

Perhaps three types of individuals may be needed to work through the stages of the change relationship--someone to start the project, someone to train the personnel and phase out the project, and a third person to evaluate the results. It is perhaps rare to find the capacity for objective planning, implementation and evaluation of a project in one individual.

g. How do I help promote a continuity of creative changeability?

The three criteria offered by Lippitt for evaluating success in bringing about change are more or less the same as those mentioned in previous sections of this paper: (1) Has the client learned to cope more adequately with the problem or problems which initiated the consulting process? (2) Has the client learned how to function more adequately in classifying future problems as they emerge and to make appropriate decisions about seeking outside help when needed? (3) Has the client learned new procedures and new types of organization to help him maintain a healthy state of changeability in adapting to changing conditions and in utilizing potentialities for creative improvement in group functioning and productivity? 31/

In commenting upon these criteria, it might be pointed out that if the advisor has served as an effective training model for his counterpart to observe and work with in stage one and involved the counterpart in the problem-identifying and solving processes, giving him responsibility as he demonstrates the capacity to assume it rather than attempting to do the work for the counterpart and if the advisor has also attempted to pose alternative solutions to problems which are acceptable to the client and acceptable within his framework of cultural values, attainment of stage two in the development model suggested at the beginning of this paper will be facilitated. The problem for the advisor in moving from stage two to stage three may often be one of giving up his personal involvement and permitting the counterpart to grow and exercise his own judgement in identifying and solving problems which arise. Self-analysis as well as client-analysis should permit the advisor to adjust to his new role and either bring the change relationship to a successful conclusion and phase out his assistance or formulate new goals as new needs are discovered and continue the change relationship at a higher level. 32/

To conclude, the technical advisor is a cross-cultural innovator who engages in a three-stage process with a host country client(s). In the process of change, the advisor may be required to assume the following roles, either in the sequence listed or as the developmental situation requires: analyst, advisor, advocate, systems linker, organizational innovator, technical innovator, educator, and leadership trainer. These roles are assumed in the process of the advisor's functioning as a change therapist, a resident technical-participant, and a cross-cultural ambassador. An understanding of the client systems to which the advisor may have to direct his skills in order to bring about a given innovation should provide the advisor with an adequate theoretical framework within which to function as a successful innovator.

FOOTNOTES

1/ See Carl Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942), pp. 126-218, for a discussion of the goals of therapy which reinforce the point suggested here.

2/ The dotted lines to the right of TAS_{1-2} represent other contract teams under the AID Mission whose functions may overlap with those of the advisor's. For example, in Afghanistan a technical advisor for the Columbia/AID Team coordinated the activities of the Kabul University English Language Department which offered English instruction to faculties under the advisement of other American AID contract teams and of European teams. This overlap in responsibility to the same host-country client resulted in occasional friction when educational objectives and approaches differed. The coordinator in order to accomplish his own objectives had to consider and attempt to compromise with the objectives of other technical advisors working with the same host-country client. These other advisors and their organizations must, thus, also be included in the client system model of the technical advisor.

3/ Mildred L. Fairchild and Kenneth D. Wann, "The Educational Consultant in another Culture," Teachers College Record, LVII (April, 1956), 448. See also, Stanley Andrews, Technical Assistance Case Reports: Selected Projects in Nine Countries (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), pp. 70 and 76, where two instances of disagreement among technical advisors are cited as having substantially contributed to the initial failure of a land reclamation project in Pakistan.

4/ Sidney C. Sufrin, Technical Assistance--Theory and Guidelines (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), pp. 44-45.

5/ The list of sources for this concept is long; only major sources are cited here. Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (New York: Fawcett Publications, 1967), p. 96. See especially the following discussion: "In the study of languages, one can safely assume nothing. No two languages are alike; each has to be approached afresh. Some are so dissimilar, English and Navajo for example, that they force the speaker into two different images of reality." In Chapter II of the same text, pp. 31-41, Hall introduces a theory of culture as communication and suggests some of the ways in which culture structures our perceptions of reality.

H. G. Barnett in Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change (New York: McGraw Hill, 1953), pp. 338-339, suggests a similar idea in his discussion of the characteristics inherent in a novelty which favor its acceptance or rejection.

Ralph Linton in The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1964), pp. 408-409, writes: "The actual usage of any culture element or complex seems to be controlled as much by the associations established with regard to it, i.e., the meaning or meanings assigned to it by the particular culture, as by its potentialities."

6/ Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, The Medium is the Message (New York: Bantam Books, 1967), pp. 26, 41, and 48.

7/ Edward H. Spicer, ed., Human Problems in Technological Change: A Case Book (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), p. 15.

8/ An example of this is contained in A. R. King, "Teachers College Contract in Afghanistan " (Institute of Education: Kabul University, 1967), mimeographed, pp. 21-25. Here King discusses a basic change in Afghan attitudes toward education. Previous Afghan custom had ignored public schooling to the extent that wealthy families were allowed to purchase substitute children who attended school for their own children in local school districts where provincial administrators sought to fill their school quotas by enforcing public attendance. However, upon receiving technical assistance for public schooling, the Afghan Government embarked upon a concentrated program of public education and first generation increases in status were reaped by graduates of the expanded programs; consequently, Afghan attitudes completely reversed themselves, and subsequent pressures on the schools to expand their enrollments strained the capacity of Afghan public schools almost to the breaking point.

9/ In Harland Cleveland, Gerard Mangone, and John Clark Adams, The Overseas Americans (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), p. 76, this suggestion is made: "The more 'underdeveloped' the country, the more inappropriate is mere cool advice, the more necessary an active role by advisors in actual operations.... In these circumstances the first job of a 'technical advisor' often is to get something started; the next job to train nationals to perform subordinate tasks; the third stage is to select and train an 'opposite number' who can gradually take over operating responsibility; then and only then can the American retire to a truely advisory role." The modified three-stage pattern presented is partially suggested by a veteran AID technician quoted in The Overseas Americans, p. 77, who states: "Maybe you could say each project will go through three periods--the first five years getting started, the second five years of helping them, and the third five years of getting out of there."

10/ An Iranian official, quoted in Andrews, Technical Assistance Case Reports, p. 61, pointed out in a discussion of the time necessary to accustom Iranians involved in a project to develop a slaughterhouse and more sanitary methods of processing meat that the new plant and

methods developed under the project were quite acceptable now, but eight years of painstaking education and development were necessary before such acceptance was possible. Delay must be permitted for people to become accustomed to what modern facilities and methods mean in terms of their health and sanitation.

11/ King, "Teachers College Contract," p. 37.

12/ King, in "Teachers College Contract," pp. 26, 46, and 57, also mentions a curious but not unexpected phenomena which may occur during stage two but which should be avoided. In building Afghan educational institutions the Columbia/USAID Team became institutionalized within the Afghan educational system. The significance of this phenomena can only be appreciated by imagining matrices TAS through TAS_2 entering the Afghan educational system as peripheral pinpoints within a larger circle representing Afghan education and culture. In the process of carrying out teacher-training operations at Darul Mo Allemein, a local boys' school, the satisfaction of initial objectives resulted in the creation of new needs, the formulation of new objectives, and the building of new institutions to serve those needs. This process in turn led to the development of further needs and the formulation of new objectives until what began as a miniscule team operation on the periphery of Afghan education became a sizeable and significant activity at the center and gained a potential function for changing basic social values and processes in Afghan culture.

Growth and fusion thus occurred in both the TAS and CPS matrices as initial tasks were begun and completed and as new needs were discovered and new task objectives formulated. Both Columbia/USAID and the Afghans became involved in a process of "spiral growth," with the Columbia/USAID Team increasing in size as its assistance roles developed in scope. Yet, as will be mentioned later in terms of the stages of change therapy, this institutionalization of the Team represented, to borrow a term from Kurt Lewin, the "freezing" of the change agent within a culture rather than the adaptation of behavior patterns presented by him. It should be noted that building in client dependency upon the agent inhibits the achievement of a terminal relationship and increases the possibility of a traumatic separation when foreign assistance is phased out.

13/ Ronald Lippit, "Dimensions of the Consultants Job," The Planning of Change, eds., Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth G. Benne, and Robert Chin (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), pp. 158.

14/ For a good general discussion of the concept of systemic linkage, see Charles P. Loomis, "Tentative types of Directed Social Change Involving Systemic Linkage," The Planning of Change, eds., Warren G. Bennis et al., pp. 223-230.

15/ Art Gallaher, Jr., and Frank A. Santopolo, "Perspectives on Agent Roles," reprinted from the Journal of Cooperative Extension (Winter, 1967), 223-229. For a further elaboration of roles identified in the change-agent model for the extension worker, see the following sources: Art Gallaher Jr., "The Agent as Analyst," Journal of Cooperative Extension (Winter, 1967), 215-232; Art Gallaher Jr., "The Role of the Advocate and Directed Change," Media and Educational Innovation (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, 1966), pp. 16-39 (preliminary report); "The PCV as Resident Technical-Participant," a mimeographed report which can be obtained by writing to Dr. Frank Santopolo, Center for Developmental Change, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., 40506; and Ronald Lippit, et al., The Dynamics of Planned Change (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1958).

16/ Gallaher and Santopolo, "Perspectives on Agent Roles," p. 229.

17/ Ibid., p. 227.

18/ Ibid.

19/ Two examples will illustrate this point. The first is from an oriental fable used by Don Adams to depict the plight of the unwary foreign advisor: "Once upon a time there was a great flood, and involved in this flood were two creatures, a monkey and a fish. The monkey being agile and experienced, was lucky enough to scramble up a tree and escape the raging waters. As he looked down from his safe perch, he saw the poor fish struggling against the swift current. With the very best of intentions, he reached down and lifted the fish from the water. The result was inevitable." Don Adams, "The Monkey and the Fish," Dynamics of Development, ed., Gove Hambridge (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 361. The second example is the vignette recounted by Foster of the technical advisor who decided to build a public bath in Iran, and ignoring the advice of his counterpart, failed to install partitions for the privacy of the bathers. The bath was, of course, never used and became a village joke because the values of the culture did not condone nudity even in an enclosed public bath. George M. Foster, Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 180-181.

20/ Gallaher, "The Role of the Advocate and Directed Change," p. 26.

21/ See note 12. One further example of this may be given from the Columbia /AID operation in the Faculty of Education at Kabul University in Afghanistan. Engaged in an English teacher training project within the Faculty of Education for the past five years, Columbia English specialists now find it difficult to extract themselves from direct teaching roles. The dynamics of the change situation require them to direct their attention to curriculum development and materials development.

This is made impossible by the insistence of the Afghan administration that Americans teach upperclass courses even though trained Afghans are available. Leo Juarez, "Terminal Report, March 1967--August 1968"(Mimeographed Kabul, Afghanistan: TCUU/USAID, 1968), p. 6.

22/ Gallaher and Santopolo, "Perspectives on Agent Roles," p. 229.

23/ "The PCV as Resident Technical-Participant," p. 229.

24/ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

25/ Fairchild and Wann, "The Educational Consultant in Another Culture," p. 446.

26/ Cleveland, et al., The Overseas Americans, pp. 79-80.

27/ Lippit, "Dimensions of the Consultant's Job," pp. 156-162.

28/ King, "Teachers College Contract," p. 44.

29/ Lloyd D. Black, The Strategy of Foreign Aid (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1968), p. 144.

30/ King, "Teachers College Contract," pp. 40-43 and 45.

31/ Lippit, "Dimensions of the Consultant's Job," p. 162.

32/ King, "Teachers College Contract," p. 57. King's comment on the mutual growth of the Columbia Team and the Institute of Education during the 12-year span of the Columbia Team involvement in Afghanistan is an example of this problem. The Columbia Team's educational activities in Afghanistan were initially quite peripheral, limited in focus, although the language of the AID/contract under which they were brought to Afghanistan gave them a core responsibility in assisting in the development of Afghan education. Now after 12 years' involvement in Afghan education, The Columbia Team and the Institute of Education have participated in a mutual and spiral growth which has resulted in the institutionalization of Columbia Team assistance to core activities in Afghan education, based as they are now within the Ministry of Education, the Institute of Education, and the Faculty of Education at Kabul University.

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